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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

18 December 1948

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM NO. 103

SUBJECT: Views of Indonesian Republic representatives now in US.

25X1X61 1. Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia [REDACTED] 25X1X6  
[REDACTED] have expressed [REDACTED] the fol- 25X1X6  
lowing views concerning the possibility of Dutch "police action"  
in Indonesia: (1) the Dutch may undertake such action between  
20 and 30 December, when the UN Security Council would find it  
difficult to meet; and (2) the Dutch are more likely to begin police  
action approximately three weeks after they have established an  
interim government, an event which is expected sometime before  
1 January 1949.

25X1X6 2. In an effort to forestall Dutch police action, these Indo-  
nesian representatives have formulated and are now pursuing  
an intensive campaign to obtain full US backing for the Republican  
position. Among their efforts to obtain such backing, the Indonesian  
representatives hope to include a conference with President Tru-  
man. At such a meeting, which the Indonesian representatives [REDACTED] 25X1X6  
[REDACTED] intend to request whenever Dutch police  
action appears imminent, the Indonesians would make strong pro-  
testations that: (1) Dutch military action will be interpreted in  
Indonesia and elsewhere in the Far East as the consequence of  
US acquiescence; (2) friendship for the US of more than 70 million  
Indonesians hangs in delicate balance; and (3) many more millions  
of Far Eastern peoples will be greatly influenced by the ultimate  
stand which the US takes on Indonesia. Moreover, in pressing for  
US support, the Indonesian representatives will assert that there  
is overwhelming popular sympathy in the US for the Republic  
and that most Americans believe the only beneficiary of Dutch  
military action in Indonesia will be local Communists and the  
USSR.

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NO CHANGE in Class. ☐

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3. Indonesian leaders have indicated that they expect little help from the UN Security Council unless the US takes a strong stand. They believe that the Dutch intend to avoid a hearing before the SC until after they have successfully concluded police action in Indonesia. The Indonesians therefore hope that Dutch action can be postponed until after 1 January 1949 when, in their view, the membership of the Security Council will be more favorable to the Republic. (The Indonesians believe that Norway and Cuba will be more sympathetic than Belgium and Colombia.) The Indonesians also hope that the US will influence France and the UK to support a United States of Indonesia which would include the Republic on the terms envisioned not only by the Ren-ville Agreements, but also by the US proposals submitted to the Good Offices Committee.

4. The Indonesian representatives indicate that if Dutch "police action" occurs, the Republic has made plans for prolonged and intensive guerrilla action in Java and Sumatra. They expect strong and immediate assistance for the Republic from Indonesians in territory presently held by the Dutch. They realize that the Dutch are capable of extending military control to most of Java and indicate that the Republic plans to move the seat of government to Sumatra, probably to Bukittinggi. Although they do not think that the Dutch can ever occupy the whole of Sumatra, they declare that the Republic will, if necessary, move the top officials to New Delhi where the government has been offered support and asylum. They claim that the Republic has agreements with India which will deny the Dutch air landing rights in India and will place an embargo on Dutch shipping. In addition, they indicate that the Republic is prepared to reach a similar air embargo agreement with Ceylon where the Dutch were able to operate effectively during the July 1947 "police action." Although the Republic intends to take immediate steps to strengthen its representation abroad and will announce understandings and agreements with new areas, no agreements with the USSR are contemplated.

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